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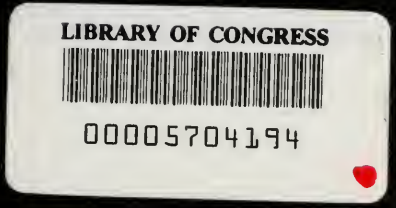

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MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

REQUITED LABOR CONVENTION,

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA,

ON

The 17th and 18th of the Fifth month,

AND BY ADJOURNMENT ON

The 5th and 6th of the Ninth month, 1838.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY MERRIHEW AND GUNN,
No. 7 Carter's Alley.

1838.

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MINUTES.

At a Meeting of the Delegates to the Requited Labor Convention, convened in the session room of the Pennsylvania Hall, Fifth month 17th, 1838;

The Convention was called to order by William C. Betts, of Philadelphia, and on motion, William Bassett, of Lynn, Massachusetts, was appointed President; William C. Betts, of Philadelphia, and Alice Eliza Hambleton, of Chester County, Secretaries.

The following call for the Convention was then read:

To Anti-Slavery Societies and Individuals throughout the United States.

"Fellow Citizens:—Being persuaded that the final overthrow of slavery would be greatly accelerated by general abstinence from the proceeds of slave labor, and having corresponded with different societies and individuals on the subject, it is agreed to hold a convention of men and women, in Philadelphia, the 17th day of the Fifth month (May) next, to form a National Requited Labor Association; the object of which shall be to operate on the mind of the community, by exhibiting the relation the consumer sustains to the slaveholder, and pursuing, ourselves, a course consistent as abolitionists; and to devise means for obtaining articles produced by freemen, whereby we may be enabled with less difficulty to refrain from partaking of goods procured through the unrequited labor of the slave, and immediately to cease from encouraging and assisting slaveholders and slave-dealers in upholding the unrighteous and cruel system.

"Societies, friendly to the measure, are requested to send delegates; and individuals approving the object, are invited to attend and be with them as members of the Convention."

The names of the delegates were then enrolled, as follows:

CLARKSON A. S. S.
Alice Eliza Hambleton,
Joseph Moore,
Phebe Hadley,
Sarah Hambleton,
Rest Eliza Lambourn,
Deborah S. Coates,
Rachel Ann Lambourn,
Elenor Brinton,
Amy Preston,
Charles Hambleton,
Jeremiah Whitson,
William Jackson,
Lindley Coates,
Joseph Fulton,
Thomas Worrel,
Isaac Moore,
Eli Hambleton.

CITY AND COUNTY A. S. S.
William C. Betts,
Edward M. Davis,
Benjamin S. Jones,
David Sellers,
Peter Wright,
Henry Grew,
Daniel Neall, sr.
Warner Justice,
William Marott,
James M. Jackson.

LYNN (MASS.) A. S. S.
William Bassett,
James P. Boyce.

KENNETT A. S. S.
John Cox,
Benjamin Pyle,
Mable Pyle,
Hannah Cox,
B. Fussell,
John Agnew,
John J. Philips,
Henry Brosius,
Jacob Pierce,
Sarah T. Harvey.

WILBERFORCE A. S. S.
Samuel Jones,
John J. Baker,
Jonathan J. Lewis,
John Pugh,
Thomas Adamson,
James Hardy,
George W. Lewis,
Hannah P. Jones,
Rachel Jones,
E. M. Pugh.

JUNIOR A. S. S.
Daniel L. Miller, jr.
Joseph Parrish, jr.
E. Squibb,
Samuel J. Levick,
Thomas Foulk,
J. P. Ellis,
G. D. Jones,
J. H. Johnson.

ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS FOR ADVOCATING THE CAUSE OF THE SLAVE, &c.
John H. Cavender,
Caleb Clothier,
James Mott,
Esther S. Justice,
Deborah Marott,
Margarett C. Atlee,
Sarah G. Wayne,
Hannah Williams,
Lucretia Mott,
Lydia White,
Isaac Coates,
Emmor Kimber, jr.
John Atkinson, jr.
Mary L. Rowland,
Mary Sleeper,
Beulah Passmore,
Lydia Kimber,
Huldah Justice.

OXFORD FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.
Daniel Kent,
John Hambleton,
Agnes Cook,
Ruth Hambleton.

NORTHERN LIBERTIES A. S. S.
Lucas Gillingham,
James L. Pierce,
Ralph Smith,
James McCrummill,
William Deal, Jr.
Elizabeth Gillingham,
Mary P. Egan,
Rebecca Hawkins,
Mary B. Smith,
Elizabeth Henley,
Edwin Griffin.

COLERAIN A. S. S.
William Brosius,
W. L. Rakestraw,
Martha Clendenon,
Sarah Hagerty.

BURLINGTON CITY A. S. S.
David Oliver,
John Parrish,
Joseph Beldon.

BUCKINGHAM FEMALE A. S. S.
Martha Smith,
Elizabeth Ely,
Mary W. Magill,
Mary Beans,
Ann J. Paxon,
Mary Johnson,
Tracy Purry,
Beulah Ann Smith.

DELAWARE COUNTY A. S. S.
Joseph Rhoads, sr.
John Sellers, jr.
Ann E. Sellers,

Anna Poole.

LYNN FEMALE A. S. S.

Miriam B. Johnson,
Elenor Johnson,
Hannah Alley,
Abigail L. Bread,
Abby Kelly.

KIMBERTON A. S. S.

John Thomas,
Bartholomew Fussell,
Mary Halderman,
Henry Royer,
Gertrude Kimber,
Esther Hawley,
Jesse Hawley,
Mary Ann Lewis,
Grace Ann Lewis,
Abigail Kimber,
Lydia M. Fussell,
Henry Kimber,
Norris Mavis.

SNOWHILL AND MOUNT ZION A. S. S.

Arthur Boyer,
Isaac Clement.

PHILADELPHIA CITY A. S. S.

William A. Garrigues,
Robert Biddle,
David Sellers,
Samuel Webb,
Charles C. Jackson,
William C. Betts,
Charles Wise,
Thomas Hansell,
Robert McClure,
Daniel Neall, jr.

FRANKFORD A. S. S.

S. W. Pickering,
S. Williams,
G. L. Gillingham,
Mahlon Murphy,
Isaac Whitelock,
Amos Thorp,
J. H. Webster,
Enoch Roberts,
Edwin Fulton,
William Murphy,
N. Hilles,
John G. Lewis,
Elizabeth Whitelock,
Ann L. Gillingham,
Naomi Murphy,
Mary P. Newbold,
Susan Roberts,
Letitia Murphy,
Sarah Cowley,
Mary Ann Webster,
E. D. Newbold,
Sarah Whitelock,
Eliza Gillingham,

SPRING GARDEN A. S. S.

George M. Alsop,
Enoch Stratton,
Warner Justice,
Francis Mitchell,
Middleton Morris,
Samuel Ross,
David Coggins,
Samuel D. Hastings,
Daniel Longstreth,
Joseph M. Truman,
John Longstreth,
Ebenezer S. Davis,
Jacob S. Brotherton,
Josiah Bond,
Albert Middleton.

BUCKS COUNTY A. S. S.

Joshua Dungan,
Richard Janney,
Jonathan P. Magill,
Joseph Janney,
William H. Johnson,
Joseph Yardley,
Martha Smith,
S. Janney,
Beulah Ann Smith,
Mary Johnson,
Harriet P. Johnson,
M. W. Magill,
Penquite Linton,
Charles Swain,
Thomas Janney,
M. B. Linton,
Ann J. Passon,
Ann Buckman,
Sarah Beans,
Trancenia Janney.

WEST CHESTER A. S. S.

Hannah Covington,
Lucretia Fleming,
Phebe Darlington,
Henrietta Simmons.

EAST-FALLOWFIELD A. S. S.

James Fulton, jr.
Enoch Harlon,
Samuel Pennington,
C. Taylor,
George Baker,
Susan Taylor,

Mary Lukens, jr.
Sarah Naylor,
Mary Ann Coates.

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. S.

Mary E. Pennock,
Sarah Lewis,
Sarah Pierson,
Elizabeth Bunting,
Elizabeth Neall,
Rachel Sellers,
Anna Bunting,
Mary Corlies,
Theressa Kimber,
Sarah Dorsey,
Margaret Randolph,
Sarah Palmer,
Hetty Burr,
Jane Smith,
A. Warrington,
Susan Haydock,
Mary Needles,
Sarah Parke,
Sarah Shaw,
Mary Townsend,
Mary Gillingham,
Sidney Ann Lewis,
Lydia W. Ellis,
Sarah Jackson,
Sarah M. Grimké,
Sarah Pugh,
C. Eckstein.

NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS ENROLLED WHO WERE NOT DELEGATES.

Esther Hayes,
Sarah McCrummill,
L. R. Lukens,
John Cross,
Lewis C. Gunn,
Thomas E. Chapman,
A. L. Pennock,
Mary H. Vickers,
Alanson St. Clair,
Joseph Gibbons,
Joseph L. Pennock,
Rebecca S. Sellers,
Martha R. Ellis,
Rachel B. Moore,
Beulah Moore,
John Jones,
Susan H. Luther,
Mary Spencer,
Joseph Sharpless,
Elizabeth Pierce,
Mary L. Cox,
Joseph S. Pierce,
Charles Cadwallader,
Alice Sellers,
Elizabeth Kent,
Mary Darlington,
Mary Shaw,
Mira Orum,
Nathan Thorne,
J. F. Temple,
Charles C. Burleigh,
Elizabeth M. Jacobs,
Sarah A. Speakman,
Jonathan Lambourn, jr.
Jane Johnson,
Abby Bowman,
Sarah Webb,
Mary Grew,
Sarah G. Little,
Hannah Townsend,
Lydia Lukens,
Sarah S. Truman,
Elizabeth Shaw,
Susan W. Shaw.

It was, then

Resolved, That we proceed to form a National Requited Labor Association, and that a Committee be appointed to draft a Constitution for said Association. Whereupon the following were appointed, viz.: Lewis C. Gunn, of Philadelphia; Henry Grew, do.; William Bassett, Lynn, Massachusetts; William Jackson, Chester county, Pennsylvania; Alice Eliza Hambleton, do.

A Committee was appointed to prepare business for the Convention, consisting of Lindley Coates, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania; William H. Johnson, Bucks county, Pennsylvania; Alanson St Clair, Massachusetts; Bartholomew Fussell, Chester co., Pennsylvania; Caleb Clothier, Philadelphia; James L. Pierce, Northern

Liberties; Abby Kelly, Lynn, Massachusetts; Sarah T. Harvey, Hannah Williams, S. H. Luther, and Elizabeth Southard.

A Committee was also appointed to prepare and publish an Address on the duty of abstaining from the produce of slave labor, viz., Lewis C. Gunn, Charles C. Burleigh, M. L. Cox, Jonathan P. Magill, Sarah M. Grimké, Alice Eliza Hambleton, and Abby Kelly.

On motion, the following Committee was appointed to obtain information of the places from whence articles the result of remunerated labor can be obtained, viz., William Bassett, William C. Betts, Abraham L. Pennock, John H. Cavender, James Mott, Charles Wise, Charles Cadwallader, Lydia White.

The Convention adjourned to meet in the Saloon of Pennsylvania Hall, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The roll was called and the minutes of the morning session read and adjourned.

The Business Committee made a report which was accepted, and being amended was adopted as follows:

"The Committee appointed to prepare business for the Free Produce Convention, respectfully report,

"That they consider it highly necessary that the minds of the various members of the Convention should be deeply and solemnly impressed with the great importance of the measure in which we are about to engage, and the practical benefits to our cause which are likely to ensue from it, and inasmuch as free discussion, which is the motto of the day, is calculated to elicit the views and arguments which may be adduced in its support, the Committee would respectfully suggest that one hour be appropriated for this purpose, prior to our entering upon any other business. We would also propose that the Committee on the Constitution should then make their report, and the Convention enter upon its consideration and adoption; after which the Society in its official capacity shall elect its officers, by which means it will become fully organized and ready to enter upon such duties as may devolve upon it by the Constitution.

Standing Rules of the Convention.

"1*st*. All persons, whether favorable or opposed to the objects of this Convention, shall have full liberty to discuss any resolution involving the principles it professes; but no one, not a member, shall be permitted to vote.

"2*d*. No person shall speak more than twice on any question till all others who desire to speak shall have spoken.

"3*d*. No person shall offer any resolution, or motion, unless to amend, substitute, or adjourn, while a previous one is pending."

Alanson St. Clair offered the following:

Resolved, That we will in all cases give a preference to the products of free labor over those of slaves; and never, if we can have a choice between the two, give countenance to slaveholding, by purchasing, trafficking in, or using the latter.

After an animated discussion, in which Henry Grew, A. St. Clair, M. L. Cox, S. H. Luther, N. Southard, Thomas Hambleton, R. Smith, and others participated, it was laid on the table, and the Convention adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FIFTH MONTH 18th, 1838.

At a meeting of the Requited Labor Convention, held at the *ruins* of the *Pennsylvania Hall*, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

On motion, adjourned to James Mott's, North Ninth street, at 11 o'clock.

11 *o'clock*. At a meeting held at James Mott's, pursuant to adjournment,

A letter from Mary S. Wilson was read in the Convention; after which the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of seven, with the officers, be appointed a Committee of Correspondence, with power to call this Convention together, at such time and place as they shall deem suitable, viz.: William Bassett, *President*, William C. Betts, Alice Eliza Hambleton, *Secretaries*, Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas Hambleton, Lewis C. Gunn, Lucretia Mott, Mary Johnson, Sarah M. Grimké, Lindley Coates, and Henry Grew.

On motion, adjourned to meet at such time and place as shall be agreed upon by the aforesaid Committee.

WILLIAM BASSETT, *President*.

WILLIAM C. BETTS,
ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, } *Secretaries*,

NINTH MONTH 5th, 1838.

At an adjourned meeting of the Requited Labor Convention, assembled in Sandiford Hall, pursuant to the call of the Committee of Correspondence, the President being absent, Richard Janney, of Bucks county, was called to the Chair.

The Roll of the Delegates being called, there were present at the morning session,

Alice Eliza Hambleton,
Rest Eliza Lambourn,
Thomas Hambleton,
Charles Hambleton,
Eli Hambleton,
William C. Betts,
Edward M. Davis,
Benjamin S. Jones,
Henry Grew,
Sarah T. Harvey,
Daniel L. Miller, jr.
J. Foulk,
M. W. Magill,
M. B. Linton,
L. R. Lukens,
L. C. Gunn,
Jonathan Lambourn, jr.
Mira Orum,
Mary Shaw,
Martha Smith,
Mary Beans,
Mary Johnson,
Tacy Parry,
John Sellers, jr.
Sidney Ann Lewis,
John H. Cavender,
Esther S. Justice,
Sarah G. Wayne,
Lucretia Mott,
Lydia White,
Isaac Coates,
John Atkinson, jr.
Mary Sleeper,
John Hambleton,
Joseph L. Pierce,
Edwin Griffin,
George M. Alsop,
Francis Mitchell,
Josiah Bond,
Jonathan P. Magill,
William H. Johnson,
C. C. Burleigh,
Joseph Sharpless,
A. L. Pennock,
E. H. Coates,
Sarah Dorsey,
J. Parrish, jr.
J. M. Jackson,
Nathan Thorne,
C. Clothier,
D. Marott,
James Mott,
Susan Taylor,
Samuel Naylor,
Martha Hampton,
Esther Ann Fussell,
J. Clark.

On motion of Benjamin S. Jones, all persons in attendance, who are favorable to the objects of this Convention, are invited to take part in its deliberations.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

Letters were read from Gerrit Smith, William Bassett, and the Colerain Anti-Slavery Society in this state.

L. C. Gunn, on behalf of the Committee on the Constitution, reported a draft of a Preamble and Constitution, which, on motion, was accepted, and with some amendments adopted, and is as follows:

PREAMBLE.

Assured of the correctness of the principle, that the receiver of property, known to be unrighteously obtained, is a criminal participator in an evil deed; assured that the products of slave labor are thus obtained, and that the purchasing and using of these products, on the part of the consumer, is the grand stimulus to maintain the abominable system of oppression, without which there would exist no adequate inducement to continue it: therefore, for the sake of outraged humanity, and for the purpose of bearing a consistent, holy, practical testimony against a great national sin, we agree to associate under the following

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I.—This Association shall be called the American Free Produce Association.

ART. II.—The object of this Association shall be to promote total abstinence from the products of slave labor, and devise means by which the community may be supplied with articles produced by the labor of freemen.

ART. III.—All persons who approve of the objects of this Association, and contribute annually to its funds, may have their names enrolled as members.

ART. IV.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, four Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, consisting of the above mentioned officers, together with twelve other members of the Association. They shall be annually elected by the members of this Society.

ART. V.—The Executive Committee shall represent the Society during its recess, shall have the control of the funds not otherwise appropriated, and shall take such measures as they consider proper for the promotion of the objects of this Association. They shall make a report to the annual meeting of this Society of their proceedings, and of the amount of money received and expended by them. They shall have power to call special meetings of the Society, to enact their own by-laws, and fill any vacancies that may occur in their own body. Five of them shall constitute a quorum.

ART. VI.—There shall be annual meetings of this Society held on the third Third-day in the Tenth month, at such place as may be fixed by the Society at its previous annual meeting.

ART. VII.—Any association founded on the same principles, and contributing annually to the funds, may become auxiliary to this Society. The officers of each auxiliary society shall be ex-officio members of the Parent institution, and, with the delegate shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

ART. VIII.—This Constitution may be amended at any annual

meeting of the Society, by a vote of a majority of members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted in writing to the Executive Committee, and published three months previous to the annual meeting.

Adjourned until three o'clock, this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Richard Janney being absent, William H. Johnson was called to the Chair.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted.

On motion, that part of the report of the Business Committee that relates to the election of officers was laid on the table.

Lewis C. Gunn, on behalf of the committee appointed at a previous meeting, to prepare and publish an address on the duty of abstaining from the produce of slave labor reported an address, which, after some discussion, was referred back to the Committee, and the names of Lucretia Mott, Benjamin S. Jones, William C. Betts, A. L. Pennock, Richard Janney, Thomas Hambleton, and William H. Johnson, were added to the Committee.

On motion,

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing stores for the sale, exclusively, of goods produced by requited labor, and report to a future sitting of this Convention a plan by which such stores can be supported. Thomas Hambleton, William C. Betts, A. L. Pennock, Henry Grew, Alice Eliza Hambleton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Hampton, and Daniel L. Miller, jr., Committee.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress, asking for a repeal of duties on all goods which come in competition with slave labor produce, at least so far as to place them on an equal footing. A. L. Pennock, B. S. Jones, and C. C. Burleigh, were appointed the Committee.

Resolved, That Joseph Parrish, jr., be appointed to procure a book, and have the Preamble and Constitution transcribed in it, and produce it at the morning sitting for signatures.

Adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

NINTH MONTH 6th, 1838.

Samuel Ross was called to the Chair.

The minutes of last session were read and adopted.

On motion, the resolution respecting the memorial to Congress on the subject of duties, was reconsidered, and a substitute offered, which was negatived.

The following resolution was read and adopted:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to correspond with James Cropper, and other prominent abolitionists of Great Britain, on the subject of inducing some of the manufacturers of that country to use none but free labor cotton in their establishments.

The Committee on Stores offered the following report, which was referred to the Executive Committee for its consideration:

"*To the Requited Labor Association:*

"The Committe appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing stores, &c., report,

"That in their judgment it is important that the market be regularly furnished with goods produced by freemen, and that a store be established for that purpose under the direction of the Executive Committee, in which the friends of the cause may feel an equal interest, and that a fund be created for that purpose.

"They would suggest in the following manner: That a voluntary subscription be opened, to be continued annually at the option of the subscriber, and the Executive Committee have power to employ an agent at a salary, if it shall be found necessary, and the funds warrant it; but they shall have no power to contract debts beyond what the funds will discharge, or in any wise subjecting the Association to loss or embarrassment.

"On behalf of the Commmittee.

THOMAS HAMBLETON,
WILLIAM C. BETTS,
H. GREW,
ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON,
LUCRETIA MOTT,
MARTHA HAMPTON."

The following resolution was then offered, and after a long and interesting discussion adopted:

Resolved, That as slaves are robbed of the fruits of their toil, all who partake of those fruits are participants in the robbery, and as all markets are supplied with such articles as consumers require, we earnestly recommend to all abolitionists to encourage the furnishing of the market with free goods, by purchasing and using such only as are of this class.

Resolved, That a Committee of one member be appointed to receive subscriptions from members of the Convention, to defray the expenses thereof, and after paying the necessary charges, hand over the balance to the Treasurer, to be appointed by the Association.

The Chair appointed Alice Eliza Hambleton said Committee.

Adjourned to four o'clock this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention assembled.

The Committee on the places from whence free goods can be obtained, reported attention to the subject committed to them, but had not yet completed their work. They were directed to report to the Executive Committee.

A letter from William Goodell, of Utica, New York, was then read.

Thomas Foulke, Lucretia Mott, Martha Smith, A. L. Pennock, and Caleb Clothier, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the Association, who reported as follows:

President.

GERRIT SMITH, of Peterboro, New York.

Vice Presidents.

WILLIAM BASSETT, of Lynn, Massachusetts.
ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, of Philadelphia.
WILLIAM H. JOHNSON, of Bucks county, Pennsylvania.
LEWIS TAPPAN, of New York.

Recording Secretary.

DANIEL L. MILLER, JR.

Corresponding Secretary.

LEWIS C. GUNN.

Treasurer.

LUCRETIA MOTT.

Executive Committee.

Charles C. Burleigh,	Abby Kelly,
Alice Eliza Hambleton,	Caleb Clothier,
Henry Grew,	David Ellis,
William C. Betts,	Sidney Ann Lewis,
Lydia White,	Martha Hampton,
John H. Cavender,	Sarah Pugh.

The Report was adopted, and they were accordingly appointed the officers.

The Committee on the Address were directed to finish their report and submit it to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the first stated meeting of this Association be held on the third Third-day in the Tenth month, 1839, in Philadelphia.

Daniel L. Miller, jr., Lewis C. Gunn, Alice Eliza Hambleton, Sarah T. Harvey, John Hambleton, Eli Hambleton, and Jonathan P. Magill, were appointed to call on absent members for their contributions.

On motion,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting, together with the letters addressed to the Convention, be published in as many of the papers as the Executive Committee shall deem suitable.

Adjourned.

WILLIAM C. BETTS,
ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, } *Secretaries.*

COLERAIN, (Lancaster County,) Eighth month 30th, 1838.

To the Requited Labor Convention:

Dear Friends,—As existing circumstances prevent a delegation from our Society being with you, we take this method of informing you that we feel deeply interested in the subject for which you are convened; and be assured that, although not with you in person, we are with you in heart in this matter.

We have considered the subject, and would give a decided preference to productions obtained from remunerated labor over those produced by the toil-worn and suffering slave, and we hope that a channel may ere long be opened, whereby free produce can be obtained with less inconvenience than at present.

Consistency requires that we should abstain at least as far as practicable from using slave products, for it is manifest that by their free and indiscriminate use we give encouragement and support to the iniquitous institution that we wish to destroy, are participants in the crime of "using our neighbor's service without wages," and thus implicate ourselves deeply in the slaveholder's guilt.

May Divine Wisdom govern your deliberations, and may your efforts be productive of such happy results as will aid to break the bonds of wickedness, "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free;" that you may merit the rich reward of approving consciences, and the blessings of millions who are ready to perish.

On behalf of the Colerain Anti-Slavery Society,

WILLIAM L. RAKESTRAW,
WILLIAM BROSIUS,
ISABELLA SWEENY.

LYNN, Ninth month 1st, 1838.

Esteemed Friends,—I had fully intended to be with you at the ensuing meeting of the Requited Labor Convention, and regret exceedingly that it is impracticable for me to do so. Having just returned from a visit to the country of several weeks, with some of my family, for the benefit of their health, and my absence having been inevitably prolonged beyond my expectations, I find various engagements demanding my attention, of such a nature that, (deeply as I feel interested in the objects of our Convention,) I do not feel at liberty to disregard them, and therefore feel myself debarred from joining my friends on this very important occasion. I would that the importance of this movement were more fully appreciated, and that every friend of emancipation would avail himself of the additional influence which a faithful and consistent testimony against oppression would give him. I have been surprised at the little hold

which this subject has taken on the minds of abolitionists; especially at the almost total indifference respecting it, manifest among the friends of the cause in New England.

May the deliberations of this Convention be of such a character that they may be the means of sending forth TRUTH in relation to our duty in this particular, and of fastening conviction on the minds of all those who have the cause of the suffering bondman at heart, that so they may labor with more efficiency for his deliverance.

Holding the station which the Convention was pleased to confer upon me, I feel that an apology is due for my non-attendance, which you will please communicate. I would, further, express my grateful sense of the respect thus manifested; and of the forbearance and indulgence exhibited towards me in the imperfect discharge of the duties devolving on me.

Earnestly desiring that your deliberations may be blessed by the Almighty to the furtherance of His cause,

I remain your friend and fellow-laborer,

WILLIAM BASSETT.

To *William C. Betts* and *Alice Eliza Hambleton*, } Secretaries of the Requited Labor Convention.

PETERBORO, August 19, 1838.

My Dear Friend,—I feel much obliged to you for your letter, inviting me to attend the Free Produce Convention. I have delayed answering it, not only because my whole time has been claimed by a variety of interests, but because I have not been quite certain that I should not be able to attend the Convention, the importance of which can, I think, be hardly overrated. But it seems very improbable, now, that I shall be able to attend the Convention. My excellent friend, Abraham Pennock, will take these few lines. I have had considerable conversation with him on the subject of abstinence from the productions of slave-labor. I am glad to find him so greatly interested in it.

In great haste, your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

Lewis C. Gunn.

FARMINGTON, Fourth month 26th, 1838.

Dear Friends,—Being appointed by the Annual Meeting of our Female Anti-Slavery Society, a delegate to the Convention to be held in Philadelphia, on the 5th of the ensuing month, it is with regret that I am compelled to inform you that it is out of my power to answer my appointment, in person; but I desire to encourage you to hold on your way and be not weary in well doing, remembering it is they who hold out to the end for whom the blessing is reserved. Having long been strong in the belief that very much may be done by abstaining from the use of slave-labor, I rejoice in the hope that you will be able to form a society that will operate strongly, particularly on the minds of those abolitionists who so often tell us that it is impossible to do without the use of slave-labor. I hope your proceedings will be widely circulated, and plans be made plain for obtaining, at least with a little effort, things that are necessary, free from slave-labor.

In haste I subscribe myself your friend and companion in the cause of humanity,

MARY S. WILSON.

Utica, August 29, 1838.

Mr. Lewis C. Gunn:

Dear Sir,—It would give me pleasure to attend your *Free Labor Convention* of the 5th of September, but it will not be in my power to do so; nor have I time to do justice to the subject in any communication of my views in respect to that measure.

In the early part of our anti-slavery movement, I was among those who anticipated some action on this subject by the societies then organized. The topic was introduced in the Convention in your city for forming the American Anti-Slavery Society, in December, 1833, when it appeared that not a few of our friends were apprehensive that its incorporation into our enterprise would cripple our efforts, and shut us out of the manufacturing districts of the North. A resolution, however, was adopted, recommending the subject to the attention of the Executive Committee. But it soon appeared that neither the members of that body, nor the constituency represented by them, were prepared to make any decisive advances in relation to it. The subject was not understood. It had not been discussed. Its discussion in the anti-slavery publications seemed, therefore, the first measure to be attempted. But even here, it soon appeared that some of the advocates of free discussion had found *one* topic, and one, too, which related to the subject of slavery and emancipation, which must await "the prevailing voice of the brotherhood," before it could be "prudently" assigned its place among the matters to be investigated. Among the inconveniences incident to associated and affiliated action for *one distinct object*, it has been found a very serious one that the *object itself*, in all its connexions, ramifications, and bearings, cannot be fully discussed without exciting a feeling of repulsion in some minds, to whom the wide range of discussion appears to be a wandering from the specific object of association, if not an impertinent attempt to press the organization into a service for which it was never intended. A society for emancipating the enslaved *colored* man, for example, would be sadly perverted, in the view of many, if the official publications sustained by it, should take any notice of the virtual enslavement of *white* freemen, by persons who did not pretend to be *slaveholders!* The intimation, in an anti-slavery periodical, that kitchen domestics and cotton factory operatives are not properly treated when they are degraded to the condition of an inferior caste, has been known to give serious offence to some who are sufficiently zealous for *Southern* emancipation. And it would not be strange if the matter of Northern participancy in the gains of oppression, should be equally "*a delicate question*."

I know not how we shall escape these embarrassments, until Christian churches shall become (what Jesus Christ intended them to be) standing societies for inquiring after *every* good way, and seeking for the paths of *universal truth* and *duty*. In the meantime, the Convention you propose, opens the door of inquiry in respect to the duty of abstinence from the products of slave labor. But, should a society be organized for the express purpose of promoting *that* distinct object, I should be curious to know whether its periodicals and official publications would be open to the kindred discussion of the propriety of abstinence from the products of *other* forms of oppression besides that of our American slaveholding? Perhaps *that* would be thought wandering from the subject; but, for my part, I never felt a stronger repugnance to the use of slave products, than I once did, when, on the Island of Java, I perceived that almost the entire crops of indigo, rice, sugar, and coffee, were wrung from the hands of the

poor Javanese, in the shape of a colonial government *tax*, by the Dutch authorities, in whose warehouses more than seven-eighths of the entire coffee crop were deposited for sale! Yet the Javanese were not held as "chattels personal." They were *only* oppressed after the manner of Pharaoh's dealings with the Hebrews. Our *American* oppression, I admit, is almost infinitely beyond it, in the comparison.

Abstinence from the products of slave-labor may be presented in either of the three forms of—1st. A *sentiment*, addressed to our finer feelings, and nearly allied to poetry; (all poetry is against oppression.) 2d. A moral *principle*, enforcing *obligation*, and uttering *prohibition*. Or, 3d. An *expedient*—a means for the *removal* of the oppression.

1. As a *sentiment* appealing to the sensibilities of our nature, the idea of abstinence from the products of slave-labor appears to have taken strong hold of the British public, at one period of the efforts for abolishing the foreign slave-trade. The abolition of slavery itself would certainly present a more appropriate occasion for its exercise. I shall never forget a stanza in the old "American Preceptor," of Caleb Bingham, one of the New England school books:

> "Yes! their keen sorrows are the sweets we blend
> With the green beverage of the morning meal;
> Meanwhile, to love meek mercy we *pretend*,
> And for fictitious ills *affect* to feel!"

2. As a *moral principle*, the rule of classing the products of slave-labor with stolen goods, seems almost too plain for an argument. And the rule of including the partaker in the guilt of the thief, has been incorporated into the volumes of both the common and the statute law! How shall we escape from the conclusion? I see no way, unless it be by pleading the impracticability of complying with the principle: "*For then must ye needs go out of the world.*" I confess, I have not found it practicable to abstain *wholly* from the use of the *gains of oppression*. I know not whether I am using them or not while I am writing on this sheet of paper.* But it is probable that I am. And yet I do not know that unavoidable *exceptions* should be exalted into weapons for destroying moral *rules*. David ate the shew bread, and the priests in the temple profaned the Sabbath and were blameless; yet the laws remained unrepealed. We do not despise the thief, if he steal but to satisfy the cravings of hunger and to save his life. Yet we do not think of blotting the eighth commandment from our Bibles, or of erasing the law against larceny from our statute books.

3. As an *expedient* for the *removal* of slavery, it remains to be seen whether abstinence from the products of slave-labor does not possess powers of vast energy, which are yet to be exercised. West India Emancipation, I suppose, received very little *direct* acceleration from it. The *moral* effect, among British abolitionists, may have been greater than it is commonly estimated to have been.

I have been thinking for some time, that, if other expedients should fail us, we have *one* in reserve that *might* enable us to settle the question without *debate* and without *blood*. If the North were abolitionized,—"oh, what an *if* is there!"—the Northern free states, with the help of Old England, might settle the whole question in a twelvemonth. Simple abstinence from the use of slave cotton alone, might do it. England

* Is there not a distinction between the use of paper made from rags, which are the offal of cotton goods, and the use of these goods themselves?—*Ex. Com.*

could do her part by one item of her tariff, and one-half the "agitation" of the past year would be sufficient to effect it. In our own country, it would have to be done by individual and associated abstinence. We could do nothing by way of *interdict*, unless the wise soothe-sayers and state doctors of the South should please to "dissolve the Union" by way of facilitating and suggesting the measure.

I shall look with interest for the proceedings of your Convention. Should you take measures, as I trust, you will do, for *procuring supplies of free labor goods*, for all parts of the country, you will have done much towards removing objections and cavils against the practice of abstaining from slave products. More than this, if the goods can be furnished, there are thousands who would begin, for the first time, to examine the subject, and not only examine, but *act*, by giving the *preference*, to say the least, for free goods. There are already not a few in this state, and particularly in some portions of it, who would be willing (if convinced of its necessity) to pay a difference in price, to a reasonable extent, if free-labor goods can be procured.

I cannot but anticipate good results from your Convention, and I pray you may be guided in all things, by that wisdom which cometh from above, and is profitable to direct.

I remain, dear sir,

Your fellow-laborer for the oppressed,

WILLIAM GOODELL.

NORTHAMPTON, September 1, 1838.

Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge your favor of the 16th ult., and to thank the Committee of Arrangements of the approaching Free Labor Convention, for the seasonable and friendly notice and invitation, which it conveyed.

I should be very glad to be one of that body which shall first make a public stand, in this country, against the use and traffic of the produce of "stolen labor." We call it stolen, and it is a part of our faith to denounce the *thieves*, but we do not consider who are the *receivers*. This is a delicate question. Slaveholders and traders are not the only people, who have delicate questions; I trust, however, that we may discuss such questions on the Pennsylvania side of Mason and Dixson's line, without being flayed alive, burned alive, or in any other manner lynched. A delicate question! any practice, which is pre-eminently and *consciously* foul, selfish, corrupt, corrupting and pervading, and which the more it requires stirring, the more you must refrain from touching.

Some years ago, I made a voyage with a man who had been engaged in the slave-trade. He acknowledged that, during a chase by a British cruiser, he had seen hundreds "walk a plank." Those who recollect some sixteen years, when the West India Archipelago was infested with wretches employed in another branch of piracy, know too well that this mode of ridding themselves of their captives, the witnesses of their crimes, was a favorite one. I was struck with the family feature, and occupied myself in tracing other resemblances of these kindred trades.

Slave traders are placed, by the laws of this country, on a level with pirates. In reality, they are the worst of pirates, except those who employ them. Other pirates commit murder to take a purse, which is insensible to wrong, "and has been slave to thousands;" but the slave-trader and his factors, massacre and burn one-half of a happy and inoffensive community, in order that they may take the other; and thus possess

themselves of fifty or a hundred pair of strong and mind-moved hands, the essential source of all property, each of which is of more value than a purse, because each can earn, lay up, and appropriate to necessity, utility, and charity, a thousand purses. Of all these a man is robbed when he is robbed of liberty, not to speak of pain unspeakable, anguish inconceivable, degradation bestial, and the ensuing catalogue of crimes against "the life of the soul."

"Men-buyers," says John Wesley, "are exactly on a level with men-stealers."

"Men-stealers," said the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, forty-two years ago, "are those who take and carry off freemen or slaves, and *keep*, *sell*, or *buy* them."

"The law," says the Apostle, "is made for the ungodly and for sinners, for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, and for men-stealers."

During the prevalence of West India piracy, it was ascertained and well known, that mercantile houses in the island of Cuba, (and some in Baltimore and New York were strongly suspected,) were in regular correspondence with the pirates, receiving consignments for their plunder, dividing the profits, and sometimes making advances and fitting the vessels for sea. The public indignation against those merchants was far greater than against their miserable instruments, who perished on the gallows. Those merchants were accessories before the fact and after the fact, and in the eye of the law were murderers and robbers on the high seas. If its arm could have reached them, they would have suffered with their associates.

But how did their case differ in a moral point of view from that of persons who receive the fruits of man-stealing? Men-stealers are pirates, and those who receive *consignments* of their plunder, who buy, sell, use and consume it, are accessories after the fact, and in most cases before the fact. They reward them for crimes already committed, and they furnish them means and motives for committing more. I should be pleased and grateful if any one will point out a sound and intelligible distinction between the two cases. It will relieve my mind from difficulty, and my senses from restraints, which I am unable to remove.

Does any man, woman or child doubt that slavery would die, if we ceased to live upon that for which alone men are enslaved? If there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no market, and if there were no market for slave produce, there would be no buyers of slaves, no inter-state or African slave-traders, no slave-breeders, and speedily no keepers of slaves. Slavery would die of inanition. It is the *working-men* and *women* of the free states, (whom slaveholders put upon a level with their slaves, and certainly I had rather be put upon a level with their slaves than with themselves,) it is the free children of these men and women, that supply the aliment of the execrable business. Let slave-raised cigars, rice-puddings, calicoes, cakes and sugar-plums be regarded as "forbidden fruit," which will keep death in the world, as surely as disobedience brought it here, and slavery will expire as quick as an animal in an exhausted receiver. This would be the most philosophical of experiments. It is an obvious and well tried mode of action, and has the singular advantage of being approved by those who think hanging is none too good for any thing else we do.

For many years, about the time of the last war with Great Britain, the Southern politicians insisted upon the duty and necessity of abstaining from the use and commerce of British manufactures, and many of them,

among whom were Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, set the example. More recently, we have heard of the venerable forms of "the patriarchs," clad in linsey woolsey nullification raiment; and our freshest tidings from them is, that they are preparing to lay an embargo on our trade, as they have already done upon the liberty of speech and the right of petitioning.

Our revolutionary mothers renounced the use of that tea, which came to them burdened with a trifling duty, not saturated with priceless blood, and liberticide! If they could refuse themselves their favorite beverage for a cause comparatively so trivial, what would not the same spirit have done in the far nobler enterprise, which it is our privilege to pursue?

A few years ago, our dear friend, Benjamin Lundy, published in his valuable periodical, the picture of a human finger, which was found in a cup of coffee. I presume that that cup was not drained; and yet that man or woman, who does not see that it did not differ from the cups which we take morning and evening, must have a very mechanical mind.

Since that time a cartwhip was found in a hogshead of molasses. If as many such vouchers could accompany every box, barrel, hogshead, and bag, as were employed in lacerating the stolen laborers, who produced them, our merchandise would bristle with those horrid instruments; and if we were as blind of eyes as we are of mind, we should find them sticking in our throats! Happy were it if any thing would stick there. If a thousandth part of the ugly black skin, the flesh and blood, which is whipped and beaten from the backs and heads of the only industrious and productive citizens which the South can boast, were mingled with the luxuries we receive, many tender nerves might be convulsed, where no tender conscience is now touched. We should then have *delicate morsels*, as well as "delicate questions."

In 1831, the Secretary of the Treasury, a citizen of a free state, and a famous republican, made a report to the House of Representatives, embracing the statements of a great number of sugar planters of Louisiana, and other states, concerning the expenses and profits of their business. There was a statement by the central committee of the sugar planters of Louisiana, one by a committee of the parish [county] of Plaquemine, containing an immense table of the expenditures and products of twenty plantations in that parish; one from the Agricultural Society of Baton Rouge, and several from individuals, including the Honorable J. S. Johnston, then a Senator from Louisiana in the Congress of the United States. All these, with the exception of the Baton Rouge Society, set down the annual loss of slave property, on the sugar plantations, at *five per cent.* That Society says, "two and a half" per cent.; but this answer in form, relates to "slave property" in general, and is not confined to the sugar estates. On the other hand, I have been informed, that some sugar planters have admitted that they "use up" *seven per cent.* of their hands every year. The loss to which I refer, is placed in the Secretary's report, and in the communications from Louisiana, under the heads of "risk," "decreased value," "death," and "deterioration." The chasms thus made are to be filled up with new cargoes and coffles from Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, &c.

In order to appreciate and apply these admissions of the adversary, it is necessary to consider that the annual increase of the population of the United States, is about *four per cent.*—in other words, the vacancies caused by death are supplied, and four per cent. net gain is added; therefore, on the sugar plantations of the South, a positive loss of "five per cent." must be added to the negative loss of four, making an outright

waste of human life, or downright massacre, of *nine slaves to every hundred* every year! The amount on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, to pass over those of Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, is THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY PER ANNUM. These are just as much murdered as if they were shot *en masse*, and indeed more inhumanly, inasmuch as death by torture is most terrible. In this single branch of slave employment, there is a greater destruction of human life every year, than there was in the whole French revolution, bloody as that has ever been deemed.

These facts, illustrated by elaborate calculations, and enforced by earnest appeals to the slave-breeding states, in favor of preserving the tariff protection on sugar, and the high price and great market of slaves, were not only embodied by a head of department, and coolly communicated to Congress, and ordered to be printed, but were passed without a syllable of comment from any Northern member in either branch! After the fatuity of printing such a document, I care not if a petition against slavery is never printed. If there is not enough in this single pamphlet to point the finger of scorn from every quarter of the habitable earth, there is no hope of humanity, and the maxim of Satan,

"*Evil, be thou my good,*"

has prevailed!

This regular and permanent system of murder would demand, according to the cyphering of Senator Johnston, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND new victims, between 1830 and 1855, for Louisiana alone, and thus, he inferred, the high value of slaves would be kept up, not in the market only, but by consequence on every slave property within this republic.

Will it be believed that such an argument was concocted in the nineteenth century of the Christian era? It must be, unless some gentle Goths and Vandals should charitably efface the infamous record.

And the death work still goes on year in and year out. At the rate of nine human victims per day, do American Christians and noisy republicans in the state of Louisiana alone, sacrifice to the god of gain. The holocausts of heathen Carthage did not equal this. These were abolished by the interference of an enlightened foreign nation, but we, though parties, compelled by an impious compact, and by the unfaithfulness of our agents, to be accessory to these horrors, may not even remonstrate, nor, without incurring bitter hatred and frequent peril, bear a testimony against the enormity. The Carthaginians come with flaming brands and bowie knives to our doors, and irrupt into our churches and public walks. And for this, for all this, we consent, not only nationally but individually, voluntarily, daily, yea, many times in a day, to give our money! God of mercy, is this our country? Are we the children of Penn and the Pilgrims; or are we in some dark corner of heathendom, with rapacious and pitiless Arabs and Algerines; cut-throat Khoords and Thugs, Juggernants, burners of widows, feeders of crocodiles with living virgins, regular child-killers and murderers of decrepid fathers and mothers?

There are abolitionists who drink of this blood. It is too late to do so with impunity to their own spirits or to their cause. I feel a strong persuasion that that cause cannot continue to prosper, if its advocates do not purify themselves from this pollution, and cease to be partakers of men-stealers' sin. Can they be so unapprehensive as to suppose, that because it does not come to their lips red and foaming from the veins and arteries of the panting victims, or because their own hands do not cut and torture them, they are therefore free from guilt and responsibility? "Do

you buy our produce?" asked a slaveholder of an abolitionist. "Yes, I buy it, because I can get no other." "Then you pay for keeping up the system. You may write and talk at us as much as you please, provided you give us your custom."

When David's valiant men broke through the ranks of the Philistines, and brought their chief water from the well of Bethlehem, his generous and feeling heart would not allow him to taste it, though his lips were parched with feverish thirst. "God forbid," said he, "that I should do this thing. Shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives they brought it." If a Hebrew, three thousand years ago, gave this divine example of self-denial, for a scruple which in comparison was nothing, what ought a Christian to do in regard to the gigantic and tremendous blood-guilt of the slaveholding South, and of furnishing means to continue, increase, and perpetuate it? It is absurd and bedlamitish to say we must eat blood-mixed messes, and clothe ourselves in blood-stained garments, because we can't get any other, or "can't get them so cheap," and "want to give all we can save to the anti-slavery cause." Go seek the silver which *Judas threw away*, and give that to the cause. If you cannot obtain innocent cotton and sugar, go without. All Europe did without these commodities until the last three centuries. Will you for these paltry objects trade with pirates, purchase their plunder, and pay their outfits for capturing and killing more? If you can do so, you ought, with John C. Calhoun, "deeply to regret that that unfortunate name was ever applied" to the *wholesale* dealers in your brother's blood.

Affectionate regard and hearty good wishes,
Your friend and fellow-servant,
D. Lee Child.

Lewis C. Gunn.

ADDRESS TO ABOLITIONISTS.

We are not about to tell you of the existence of slavery in our "land of the free," or to inform you that nearly three millions of your countrymen are the victims of systematic and legalized robbery and oppression. This you know full well, and the knowledge has awakened your strong sympathy with the sufferers, and your soul-deep abhorrence of the system which crushes them. We mean not to prove that this system is condemned by every principle of justice, every precept of the Divine law, and every attribute of the Divine character,—or that no man can innocently sustain to his fellow man the relation it has established. You already believe this proposition, and build upon it, as a fundamental doctrine, the whole superstructure of your anti-slavery creed and plan of operations. It is not our purpose to convince you that the slave, as your brother man, has a right to your compassion and assistance. You acknowledge his claim, and profess to be his fast and faithful friends. But we would propose to you a question of weight and serious import. Having settled your principles, in the clear light of truth, by fair and thorough investigation, do you practically carry them out in your daily life and conduct? To one point we would direct your attention. Do you, into whose hands this ad-

dress has fallen, faithfully abstain from using the products of the slave's extorted and unpaid labor? If not, having read thus far, do not immediately throw aside this address with an exclamation of contempt or indifference, but read it through with candor.

Before entering upon a discussion of the question, whether our use of the products of slave-labor does not involve us in the guilt of slaveholding, we ask your attention to the two following propositions, viz.: *The love of money is the root of the evil of slavery—and the products of slave-labor are stolen goods.*

I. THE LOVE OF MONEY IS THE ROOT OF THE EVIL OF SLAVERY. We say that the whole system, with all its incidents, is to be traced to a mean and heartless avarice. Not that we suppose every individual slaveholder is actuated by a thirst for gold; but that slaveholders *so generally* hold slaves in order to make money by their labor, that, if this motive were withdrawn, the *system* would be abolished. If nothing were gained, it would not be long before the commercial staples would cease to be produced by slave-labor, and this would break the back-bone of the system.

A comparison of the history of the cotton trade with that of slavery would show that every improvement in the cultivation and manufacture of cotton has infused new vigor into the system of slavery; that the inventions of Cartwright, Whitney, and others, have diminished the proportional number of emancipations in the United States, enhanced the value of slaves, and given a degree of stability to the robbery-system which it did not before possess. Indeed, every fluctuation in the price of cotton is accompanied by a corresponding change in the value of slaves. We copy the following statistics from the New York Herald, of November 23, 1837; they are extracted from a long "*chronological table of the cotton trade.*"

1836. Cotton farms in Mississippi, fronting on the river, sell for $100 per acre, readily. Negro men, of prime quality, fetch from $1,500 to $2,000. Rapid settlement of new cotton lands. Great speculations. Heavy importations of foreign cotton goods.

1837. Cotton trade opens in a highly prosperous condition. Fall of cotton from 20 cents to 8 cents per lb. Ruin of cotton factors. General languor in cotton trade.

One other fact growing out of the fall in the price of cotton in 1837, omitted in the above extract, we here supply: to wit, that "negro men of prime quality" would fetch not more than $400 or $500. If any further evidence is wanted that

> "The Christian brokers in the trade of blood,
> Buy men and sell them, steal, and kill *for gold*,"

we refer the reader to John C. Calhoun's indignant allusion, last winter, to the nine hundred million dollars worth of slave property.

It is the love of money, then, that leads to the buying and working of slaves. And all the laws forbidding education, sanctioning cruelty, binding the conscience—in a word, all the details of the

system,—flow from the buying of men and holding them as property, to which the love of money leads. Are we not, so far, correct?

II. ARTICLES PRODUCED BY SLAVE-LABOR ARE STOLEN GOODS, because every man has an inalienable right to the fruits of his own toil. It is unnecessary to prove this to abolitionists. Even slaveholders admit it. John C. Calhoun says: "He who *earns* the money—who *digs it out of the earth* with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it against the universe. *No* one has a right to touch it *without his consent*, except his government, and *it only* to the extent of its legitimate wants; to take more, is *robbery*." This is what slaveholders do. By their own confession, then, they are robbers.

It is no small aggravation of their offence, moreover, that *in order to get* the labor of slaves without wages, a system has been adopted which robs them of every thing else. In the language of Charles Stuart, "their bodies are stolen, their liberty, their right to their wives and children, their right to cultivate their minds, and to worship God as they please, their reputation, hope, all virtuous motives are taken away by a legalized system of most merciless and consummate iniquity. Such is the expense at which articles produced by slave-labor are obtained. They are always heavy with the groans, and often wet with the blood, of the guiltless and suffering poor."

But, say some, "we admit that the slaves are stolen property; and yet the cotton raised by their labor is not, strictly speaking, stolen, any more than the corn raised by means of a stolen horse." In reply, we say that it *is* stolen. In every particle of the fruit of a man's labor he has a property until paid for that labor, unless it is performed under a contract, express or implied, by which he has relinquished his claims. The slave is under no such contract. He, therefore, who sells the produce of his toil before paying him, sells stolen property. If the case of the corn raised by means of a stolen horse be parallel, it only proves the duty of abstaining from that also. If it be not parallel, it proves nothing.

If, then, the products of slave-labor are stolen goods, and not the slaveholder's property, he has no right to sell them.

We are now prepared to examine the relation between the consumer of slave produce and the slaveholder, and to prove that it is guilty—all guilty. Our proposition is this:

BY USING THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE-LABOR, KNOWINGLY, WE BECOME PARTAKERS IN THE CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING.

If slaveholding *be* a crime, this proposition must be true, or aiding in the commission of a criminal act is no participation in the crime. Was not William Lloyd Garrison correct in holding "the proposition to be *self-evident*, that no transfer, or inheritance, or purchase, or sale, of stolen property, can convert it into a just pos-

session, or destroy the claim of its original owner—the maxim being universally conceded to be just, that the receiver is as bad as the thief?"—*Liberator*, Vol. II., No. 1.

If the purchaser of slave produce is not a "partaker of other men's sins," *where* will you find such a character?

1. *He gives his sanction to the plunder of the slave.* This, at first view, seems self-evident. But some deny it, and assert that the mere act of purchasing the goods of the slaveholder is no more an approval of the injustice by which those goods were obtained, than of any other crime of which the seller may be guilty. Nay, that, with the greatest abhorrence of his injustice, the purchase of its products may be made for the very purpose of counteracting it. No man, it is said, understands the act of purchasing a bale of cotton, as admitting the morality of refusing pay to the people who hoed and picked it, any more than that it was raised, ginned, and pressed in the most economical way.

This reasoning contains a manifest fallacy. It is no better than most palpable and clumsy sophistry. The veriest child knows that the stolen property has not the same connexion with the thief's other crimes as with his act of theft; and that bad morality in the mode of procuring goods is a somewhat stronger objection to receiving them, than bad economy in their production.

That devoted friend of the suffering, Thomas Shipley, was wont to illustrate this subject by supposing that slavery had never existed in this country, and that a company should *now* be formed to prosecute some branch of agriculture or manufactures by means of coerced and unrequited toil. Who that has either conscience or humanity would patronise that company by buying the goods it would throw into the market? Were the use of slave-labor to be now originated, we should all reject its fruits. Can its long continuance alter its moral character, or change our duty?

As to purchasing the products of injustice for the very purpose of counteracting that injustice, we have only to say, that we are not of the number of those who believe that the "end sanctifies the means," and that "we should do evil that good may come." We, therefore, re-affirm that our use of the products of slave-labor is a practical sanction of the robbery.

First. So far as *that* single act is concerned, it manifests a willingness, on the part of the consumer, that the rightful owner shall remain deprived of the property which has been stolen from him. In fact, if the original thief begins the injury to the rightful owner, the purchaser continues it. This seems to us a truth so plain, that argument would be wasted alike in attempting to prove or to disprove it. The inference then seems fair—at least a natural one for the robber to draw—that his offence is not thought a very atrocious one. Instead of meeting the eye of stern rebuke, and hearing the voice of condemnation, reproving his wicked act, he is, by

the purchase of the stolen property, treated as an honest man, engaged in a rightful business; for

Secondly. Our buying goods of a person implies our belief in his right to sell them. Especially is this the case where the seller *claims* a right to the goods and to the disposal of them. If he has not *that* right, no one has a right to buy. By buying the products of the slave's labor, then, abolitionists practically admit either that their charge of robbery against the slaveholder is false, or that they are partakers of other men's sins.

2. Nor is this all. The purchasers of slave produce *not only sanctions crime when committed, but directly tempts to its commission.* We have already shown that the slaveholder's object is to make money. Without pay, he will no more raise cotton for *us*, than his overseer will manage his plantation for *him*. As the salary is the temptation which induces the overseer to follow that degrading employment, so the profit which we pay the slaveholder, on his rice, cotton, and sugar, is *his* temptation to enslave. You say, if there were no market for slaves the slave-trade would cease? Is it not as true that, if there were no market for slave produce, slavery would cease? The slave-buying planter is the tempter of the Guinea merchant. Is not the man who buys the fruits of the slave's labor the tempter of the slaveholder and the slave-buyer?

The following extracts are so much to the point that we cannot forbear introducing them here. The first is from the pen of William Lloyd Garrison, and was published in the Liberator for April 23, 1831.

"The abettors of crime are as guilty as the perpetrators. The assertions which have been made are true—that the consumers of the productions of slave-labor contribute to a fund for supporting slavery, with all its abominations—that they are the Alpha and the Omega of the business—that the slave-dealer, the slave-holder, and the slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the consumer, for by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process—that we are called upon to refuse those articles of luxury, which are obtained at an absolute and lavish waste of the blood of our fellow men—and that a merchant, who loads his vessel with the proceeds of slavery, does nearly as much at helping forward the slave-trade, as he that loads his vessel in Africa with slaves; they are both twisting the same rope at different ends.

"A few interrogations will suffice to illustrate this business.

"If a merchant patronise a pirate, who has plundered vessels on the high seas, and pay him liberally for so doing, is he not himself a pirate in principle? Is it true that 'the receiver is as bad as the thief?' Is not the man who bribes his companion to stab a third person to the heart, the greater criminal of the two, though he shed no blood?

"There can be no difficulty here. Every body will answer in the affirmative. These are self-evident truths. Now for the application.

"Why are the slaves held in bondage? Certainly not to fulfil any prophecy;—not on the ground of benevolence;—not because their liberation would be dangerous:—no such thing;—*but because they are profitable to their owners.* Who are the principal consumers of the products of slave-labor? The free states. They furnish a good market for the South. What is this, but putting an immense bribe into the hands of the slaveholders to kidnap, steal, and oppress? Were it not for our patronage, they would be compelled to liberate their slaves. The prophecy of Mr. Randolph will then be fulfilled: the slaves will not run away from their masters, but the

masters from their slaves. We are, then, the warmest and most efficient supporters of slavery, and feel no compunctious visitings of conscience in purchasing those things which are stolen, and which have been moistened with the tears and blood of the slave. If 'the receiver is as bad as the thief,' surely he is more criminal who gives *a yearly salary to the robber*. Is there any flaw in the argument? Are not the cases parallel?"

The next extract will show how slaveholders reason on this subject. It is from a sermon preached in 1837, in Columbia, South Carolina, by Samuel Dunwoody, a Methodist minister.

"Another metaphysical argument of the anti-slaveholders, and upon which they lay a most unreasonable stress, is, the receiver, say they, is as bad as the thief. The idea here intended to be conveyed, is, that as slavery is morally wrong in every instance, all that are concerned with the subject, either directly or indirectly, must be guilty of moral evil.

"Suppose a West India planter should purchase a large number of slaves, for the purpose of increasing his wealth. Would he be guilty of moral evil in so doing? Most certainly, says the anti-slaveholder. But suppose he should employ these slaves in the culture of sugar and coffee, in order to make his money out of them; he must necessarily sell the sugar and coffee, the product of the slaves' labor, in order to accomplish his main design. Every person, then, who purchases sugar or coffee, in reality encourages the slave-trade. But the anti-slaveholders at the North are in the habit of buying and using sugar and coffee; therefore, they encourage the slave-trade in so doing; and thus they are guilty of moral evil on their own principles. And, for the same reason, it would be morally wrong for a Northern merchant to buy a single bale of cotton from a Southern planter; for that is likewise the product of slave-labor."

3. *The purchaser of slave produce is, himself, virtually the plunderer of the slaves.* This may be a startling proposition to some; and perhaps many, who are unconscious of a desire to do such a deed, and even regard it with holy abhorrence, will at once deny the charge. Still we affirm that,—wittingly or not,—they *do* plunder the slaves. The truth of the accusation appears from what has already been said. What we hire another to do for us, is morally our own act. He who hires an artist to engrave a counterfeit bank note, is none the less a counterfeiter because he performs none of the manual labor of preparing the plate or printing the bills. And the consumers of slave produce who pay for the raising of those articles by slave-labor, are slaveholders. Where is the flaw in the argument? "None are so blind as those who *will* not see." The South understands clearly the relation of the North to the system of slavery. More than once have her distinguished men reproached us with being, in fact, the slaveholders, while they were to *us*, as really as the overseers upon their plantations to *them*, mere *agents*. What could we answer them?

Objection. But, says the objector, "in order to show that our use of slave products does actually have the effect to aid and encourage the slaveholder to continue his sin, it must be shown that our abstinence will prevent, or at least tend to prevent, his continuance. And this cannot be done, without showing a reasonable probability that our abstinence will produce a sensible effect upon the market."—We answer

First. That the whole body of consumers of slave produce

sustain slavery, no one denies. Each consumer is part of the whole, and whatever *the whole* does, *each part*—even though so small that its influence is too minute for calculation—helps to do. If ten million stockholders hold in equal shares a hundred thousand dollars, does not each, though contributing but a single cent, aid in promoting the common object of the investment? So with each purchaser of slave produce. The abstinence of *all the abolitionists* might not *yet* exert so great an influence upon the market as to make slave-labor *unprofitable;* but, subtracting from the total consumption so much as that of a single individual, would, to a certain degree, *diminish* its profits. "*Every atom* of slave produce which is used, actually and directly sustains slavery, as far as it goes." Of course, every purchaser of slave produce contributes, in a measure, to that result. "He is not the *fifty million;* all that the fifty million can do, therefore, he is not required to do; but he is *one*, and what *one* can do, *is required* of him." If, then, we gain no more than this, we *diminish the profits* of slavery, and thus weaken one of the man-stealer's principal motives to resist our appeals to his reason and conscience. The shrine-maker in Ephesus stopped his ears against the truth, because his business brought him great gain. Interest, real or supposed, blinds the eyes of Southern slaveholders. They would be more likely to give heed to anti-slavery arguments, if they did not think their system profitable, than if they were realizing immense wealth.

"The whole community is made up of individuals. Should every individual always take it for granted, that his own exertions in any cause could produce no good effects, all works of benevolence, which require a general co-operation, would go on but slowly. Besides, there is every prospect that, so far from any person who entered upon this cause being alone, he would soon find himself united with many others." His example would lead others to adopt the practice, and theirs would influence others, and theirs others still, until the little leaven would leaven the whole lump.

It is justly observed by a correspondent of the Liberator, (vol. I. p. 78,) that, "by using slave produce, each one to himself, so large a number may be kept from adopting the measure, as each one admits might, by adopting it, produce the desired effect. But the more direct answer to the objection is, that if the use of these productions is positively assisting (in however small a degree) to keep men in slavery, no one, who considers it wrong to keep them so, is at liberty to assist even to this trifling extent. Let, then, each individual, who is persuaded of the propriety of this measure, look around him, and see if there is not some *one*, if no more, whom he can influence, and induce to join in it."

Secondly. We may safely assert that, if in this measure all would unite whose avowed principles seem clearly to demand it, and all whose relations to slavery render it in some sort peculiarly

their duty to do so, a *very* "sensible effect upon the market" would be produced. The Society of Friends, consistently with their testimony against the use of prize goods, and goods fraudulently obtained, of which character pre-eminently are the products of slave-labor, ought to be among the foremost in this work. They number, according to the American Almanac, 150,000. The last annual report of the American Anti-Slavery Society informs us, that there were in May, 1838, (the time when it was written,) about 180,000 members of Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. Probably there are many abolitionists not belonging to any Society. Besides these, many persons agree with us in most points, but not in all. The co-operation of *some* of these might be reasonably expected. Indeed, some of them do now conscientiously abstain. But, without counting this last class, since its number, though doubtless large, is indefinite, and reckoning the Friends who belong to anti-slavery societies at 10,000, we have an aggregate of 320,000, whom consistency, we think, requires to withdraw at once their pecuniary aid from that system of abominations which they profess to abhor. Add to these the free colored people,—who, as in a measure identified with the slaves, might be expected to sympathize deeply with them, and to be especially ready to avoid participation in the fruits of oppression,—and the sum will exceed 600,000.

It has been computed that ten persons consume the produce of the labor of one slave. If this be correct, the abstinence of 600,000 could not but make a perceptible difference in the profits of slave-labor, and consequently in the demand for slaves. It must sensibly impair the strength of oppression's blood-cemented bulwarks.

We pretend not, from these data, to determine, with mathematical precision, by how much the number of slaves, the value of their labor, or the ratio of their increase will be diminished; or at what rate the number of voluntary manumissions would be augmented. We freely admit that circumstances exist which could hardly be bent into an accurate estimate, and the influence of which, in modifying the result, could not with any reasonable degree of certainty be measured. Each reader is left, therefore, to carry out the calculation according to his own judgment, and to arrive at such conclusion as to him appears legitimate. But one thing all will probably concede:—that a strict adherence, by 600,000 persons, to the plan we recommend would produce *an impression*, and *that* not a small one, on the market for slave produce, and on the profitableness of slave-labor.

Thus much for the influence of abstinence on the pecuniary support of slavery. In the proper place we purpose to show that even without reference to this consideration, its effect is beneficial, on however small a scale it is practised.

4. *The consumer of slave produce is a partaker in the crime of*

slaveholding, because, by such consumption, he withholds one very important testimony against slavery as a sin. By abstaining from the products of slave-labor we bear a constant and powerful testimony against slavery. It is equivalent to saying that we regard it as a heinous sin. "Yonder are the hogsheads of sugar and molasses, the bales of cotton, the rice, and the indigo! Now suppose that *no one* would buy them, *because* obtained by robbery. No one consumes them—*not* because they are *not wanted*, for they *are* wanted; but because the curse of the suffering and outraged poor is upon them." Will the masters be unrebuked by such sacrifices, made rather than partake of the fruits of their sins?

In every possible way, that does not conflict with other duties, we are bound to testify against this sin. The reason of this obligation is to be found in the enormity of the evil, and in the ruin it is every moment producing. Shall we then refuse to bear our testimony against it by abstinence from its products? If "actions speak louder than words," how loudly would our abstinence declare our conviction of the sinfulness of slaveholding! And if merely proclaiming with tongue and pen and press the immorality of slavery, does so much towards promoting its abolition, how irresistible will be the effect of preaching its sinfulness by our constant practice!

Elizur Wright, jr., of New York, though dissenting from our views of duty in this matter, asserts that the practice of abstaining from West India sugar, which prevailed to some extent in Great Britain, while Clarkson was assailing the slave-trade, "*produced a great and salutary effect on the minds of thousands*" even of those who did not adopt it. "*It was a loud and practical rebuke of slavery.* It was an index of sincerity and zeal. *It was an ever-present memento of the oppressed.* It was truly, as our amiable coadjutors, the Friends, call it, '*a testimony.*'"—Now we contend that all this the slaves *have a right to claim*,—that all this *is due* to the cause of truth and righteousness.

One word more under this head. In this controversy against slavery, as in other moral conflicts, "he who is not for us, is against us," and he who "gathereth not with us, scattereth abroad." Refusal to join an anti-slavery society is regarded by the world as evidence either of opposition to the society, or of an indifference as fatal as opposition itself. By declining to act in any particular practicable way against slavery, we give our opponents occasion to question the sincerity of our professed convictions of its enormity, and the duty of acting vigorously for its overthrow. However faithfully or efficiently we labor in other ways against slavery, if we use its products, we to some extent give our influence in its favor, and thus counteract our own exertions. We act like the man who should set one foot upon the load he is endeavoring to lift from the ground.

5. *The consumer of slave produce is a partaker of the sin of slaveholding, because he diminishes the influence of his anti-*

slavery efforts. It is probably true, generally, if not universally, of those who abstain from the products of slave labor, that, since adopting this course, they have felt a livelier zeal, a deeper abhorrence of slavery, more tenderness of conscience, and a warmer sympathy with the suffering. Elizur Wright, jr., says of the practice of the British abstainers just alluded to, "*there can be no doubt that it produced a great and salutary effect upon their own minds.*" We fully believe him. There is sound philosophy in the statement. He who abstains from slave produce, meets mementos of the slave wherever he turns. Scarcely a meal he eats, but he is reminded of the lash and the fetter and the unrequited toil. Scarcely a garment can he purchase or wear, but has a voice.

Then the consciousness that he is striving to keep his own hands clean and unpolluted with the gains of oppression, gives energy to his mind, and strength to his hand, and increased efficiency to his action in other departments of anti-slavery labor. The writer, last quoted, justly remarks, that "reformers must be, or, at least, must honestly aim to be, pure of the sin they rebuke. This is requisite, not only to commend them to the consciences of others, but to save them from the goadings of their own. 'A sinful heart makes feeble hand.'" Acting inconsistently with our avowed principles, unfits us for rebuking the errors and misdeeds of others, and of course impairs the force of our rebukes. The professed temperance man who preaches total abstinence from strong drink, and is known to take an occasional sip of brandy—however infrequent or however small—even though he should not suffer in health, or become a drunkard, could hardly expect to be a very successful advocate of the temperance cause. It may safely be doubted whether that minister of the gospel, so called, who told his congregation to do as he *said* and not as he *did*, ever made many converts to righteousness. But how much more wisely or consistently do we act, if we preach against slavery, and at the same time uphold it by consuming its products. Governor Hayne's reply to Daniel Webster on the Tariff question has not yet been forgotten. His biting retort would probably be thrown in our faces more frequently, if the South were not afraid of thereby driving us as a body to take the consistent ground of abstinence.

As Elizabeth Heyrick truly says, "we must purge ourselves from these pollutions. Then, and not till then, we shall speak with the *all-commanding eloquence of sincerity and truth*, and all our persuasions will be backed by the *irresistible argument of consistent example.*" Without that argument, can we expect to gain the same credit as with it, for the genuineness of our devotion to the cause of humanity? If we are unwilling to make the sacrifice which abstaining from slave produce requires, can we prove our readiness to do and suffer all that a strict adherence to correct principles may demand? If abolitionists refuse to forego the slave-raised luxuries which gratify the palate, or to substitute at a small advance of price

the products of free labor, with what consistency can they call upon the slaveholder to make much greater sacrifices to holy principle?

Finally. Our abstinence promotes discussion of the subject of slavery. When, as often happens, we sit with others at a table spread in part with blood-bought luxuries, and our reason for declining to partake of them is asked, the answer brings at once to view the slave's condition, and naturally introduces a discussion of his wrongs and the means for their redress. This is the very thing we want. Free discussion is the vital air of abolitionism.

Such are our reasons for believing abstinence from slave produce to be a duty. To this doctrine objections have been raised, which we now proceed to consider.

Objection I. Abstinence from slave produce is "the exaltation of a *physical expedient* into the place of *moral power*, for the removal of slavery"—a moral evil. "Starving is not convincing." Making slave produce unprofitable is "not an argument to the 'understanding and conscience' of any body, but an argument addressed solely to the *pockets* of the planters." "It lets down, mars, and secularizes the glorious plan of emancipation which has been adopted."

We reply: If it is our duty to avoid participation with other men's sins, it is none the less our duty, because we cannot do right without rendering it more difficult for others to do wrong. We abstain because moral principle requires it. The effect of our abstinence on the interest of the slaveholder, and, through that, on the system of slavery, is a necessary incident for which, even if it were matter of regret, we are no more responsible, than we should be for the inability of a distiller to maintain his mischievous business in consequence of our refusal to purchase his liquid poisons. The "physical expedient" is not exalted "into the place of moral power," but is merely an unavoidable consequence of the proper application of such power.

Objection II. "Suppose the whole world should abstain from these products, and the slave states should thereby be compelled formally to abolish slavery. So far as the abolition was produced by these means, it would rest on no principle but necessity,—it would be a slavish act. The sin would be unrepented of; and the chance is, that the reformation would be rather nominal than real. For there could not be, in the Southern states, as in the West Indies, hosts of special justices to watch the unwilling benefactors, and secure the rights of the weaker party."

This objection would apply with equal force against abstaining from the purchase of any species of stolen goods, and against every law ever enacted, affixing a penalty to the commission of crime. But would the objector consider it valid in these cases? If not, why in the present?

The answer to the previous objection will also apply to this. To

that we may add, that, even admitting what the objector says, it is better the master should *do right* with *wrong motives*, than *do wrong* with wrong motives. Better reform his outward act while his heart is unconverted, than remain at once inwardly corrupt and outwardly immoral. Besides, it will be easier to convince his understanding, awaken his conscience, and effect a genuine reformation of heart as well as life, when his strongest temptation to sin is removed—when he no longer thinks that interest is on the side of vice, nor feels those continual accessions of strength to his habits of wrong-doing with which the constant tenor of his external acts now fortifies him in sin, nor finds it necessary to seek out arguments in defence of robbery and oppression, in order to vindicate his own daily practice and silence the voice of the accuser in his own bosom.

To the intimation in the objection that the slave's condition will be only nominally changed without being improved, we answer, that even admitting what the objector asserts, that the master's oppressive disposition would still remain, it is yet something gained that the law no longer sanctions but now condemns its exercise, and that the slave's right is acknowledged, even if impediments are thrown in the way of its enjoyment. While at the worst nothing is lost; for moral means can still be used to convert the master, and enlist his will as well as his interest on the side of justice; and, as we have already remarked, serious obstacles to their success would have been removed, and they would act with greater efficacy. In the language of Charles Stuart, "as soon as the slaveholders were satisfied that they could never sell another pound of sugar, &c., wrung by force and fraud out of the outraged slave, but that they would be sure of an abundant market for the same things *fairly obtained* by hired and voluntary labor, they would be as eager for *immediate and thorough emancipation, at home*, under law, as the abolitionists now are, and in this awakened and dominant sense of *their own interest*, benevolence would have a better security for the new liberty on these principles bestowed, than all the special justices in the world could yield. We have a striking instance of this in Antigua.* It was *policy*, not righteousness—*interest*, not benevolence, which prompted the former slaveholders of that island to the *immediate* and *thorough* emancipation of their slaves, on the spot. Yet it was a *perfectly voluntary act*,—properly speaking, *their own act*, in view of exactly the same influences as all the world's abstaining from slave produce would exercise universally upon slaveholders; and the same sense of interest which prompted them to the act, has been found ten

*Since that was penned, other West India islands have abolished the apprenticeship system, which was a remnant of slavery, not from conscience, but interest. The odes written, and addresses delivered, in celebration of this event, even by persons who do not agree with us as to the duty of abstinence, show that they do not, in real life, regard as valid the objection we are considering.

thousand times more efficient than any *extraneous superintendence* could possibly have been, in securing the rights of the weaker party."

Objection III. The practice of abstinence must necessarily lead to great waste of things in themselves good. You must throw away all the slave-produced goods in your possession; for if it was sinful to buy them, it is sinful to use them.

We reply; the inference is not sustained by the premises, for to throw away the articles, would as much encourage slavery, as to use them. If their price has gone into the hands of the slaveholder, all the support which slavery can derive from them has already been secured, and so far as the influence on that system of iniquity is concerned, one disposition of them will be the same as another. If, then, we abstain from all future purchases which will put money into the slaveholder's pocket, and from the use of those things whose place, when they are consumed, will be supplied by such purchases, there is no occasion to waste or destroy what we have already purchased. So it seems to us; but we leave this question to each one's conscience, hoping no one will refuse full obedience to that monitor. We may remark, however, that even admitting the alleged necessity, the objection proceeds on the utterly erroneous assumption, that destruction is *of course* waste. Use itself results in destruction, but it is not deemed waste. Why? Because the good enjoyed in using and so consuming the article, is greater than would flow from its preservation; and therefore preservation would be the real waste. If, then, in any case, the *entire and instant destruction* would produce more good than the *use* of an article, such use would be the true waste, and destruction the true economy. The seed sown in our fields is not wasted. If the speedy abolition of slavery should be the effect of an instant destruction of all the slave produce now in existence, would not the harvest be worth the seed?

Another thought may be worth presenting. The apprehended waste, it is clear, can only come from the general adoption of the practice we recommend. If such general adoption should be instantaneous, its necessity and reason would very speedily cease; as slavery would be almost immediately abolished; and the goods on hand—not having had time to perish—could be innocently used. Their consumption, then, would not uphold a system which had ceased to exist. If not instantaneous, then, during its gradual progress, slave-raised goods would be consumed as now by those who have no scruples on the subject, and the gradual spread of these scruples being accompanied by a gradual disappearance of slave produce, and the introduction equally gradual of the fruits of free labor, there would be no waste of either.

Objection IV. A fourth objection is made up of the statement of extreme cases, and the allegation that it is impossible entirely to abstain. We are asked, what shall be done by the crews of vessels

driven by storms into slaveholding ports; or by men who become convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, while residing in the midst of a slave state, where to remain or whence to escape, without the use of slave produce, is alike impossible. We are reminded that if we travel in stage-coach or steam-boat, we shall find slave cotton in the linings of the one and the bedding and tablecloths of the other;—that in every book or paper which we read, we handle the unclean thing, and that even anti-slavery publications must be suspended till paper unstained with slavery can be procured to write and print upon. Nay, that *then* the difficulty will not be escaped, for the coin with which we pay the printer, and the boards of his office floor, as well as of our own dwelling houses, are perhaps made of slave-wrought materials.

To all this we answer, extreme cases do not make general rules, and the necessity of the case justifies nothing which is not necessary. It was well replied by a Quaker woman in Vermont, to one who urged this objection, "if thou can'st not avoid soiling thy shoe-soles, that is no reason for thy wading through the middle of the mud-puddle." Let those who start these difficulties, be cautious to abstain from the fruits of slave-labor in all but the really "extreme cases," and never to use them but when it is absolutely necessary, and we will promise not to quarrel with them about their exceptions.

In reply to that form of the objection which presents the difficulties that would attend the prosecution of the anti-slavery enterprise, it might not be impertinent to ask the objector if he would deem it right for an abolitionist to hold slaves, for the purpose of making money to give to the Anti-Slavery Society? If not, why may he for the same purpose hire others to do the same thing?

Once more. For what purpose are we told that difficulties attend the maintenance of our doctrine, and that ingenious objections, hard to be disposed of, can be brought against it? If all this may be true, and yet the doctrine may be right and sound, then it is not disproved by the statement of these facts, and the argument against it, grounded on them, is without force. But if the doctrine cannot be correct, concerning which such facts may be truly alleged, then that of our opponents, who maintain that it is right to use slave produce, must be unsound and untrue. For they cannot deny that very strong arguments, and extremely difficult to be answered, can be arrayed against their doctrine, and against the claims to consistency of that man who at the same moment condemns slavery as a sin, and holds out the principal inducement to its commission. If the objection has any weight against us, then, it has at least as much against its authors. Let them, before urging it, wait till they have fairly proved that a voluntary participation in the fruits of unrequited toil, is free from liability to serious objections grounded on the principles of moral rectitude.

E. Wright's admission, (A. S. Quarterly Magazine, Vol. I. p.

398,) that we should be unwilling to use the products extorted from the toil of our near relatives, were they in slavery, and that "we should feel it a *duty* to abstain even at some inconvenience," if we had any chance of thereby exerting a moral influence in their favor, appears to us to confirm the doctrine of this address. Unless partaking the fruits of their unpaid labor sanctions its exactions, why should we be unwilling to use them? Why "not feel like sweetening our tea with sugar bought at the price of a brother's blood," unless to do so would make us partners in the wrong inflicted on our brother? But "have we not *all* one Father?" Are we not all,—bond and free,—brethren of one great family?

We are not aware that any other objections to our views have been offered, except such as have been already anticipated and met in the preceding pages, or such as are too frivolous to deserve a serious answer. We do not expect to remove all doubt from every mind, or so to solve every conceivable difficulty, and reply to every ingenious cavil, as to satisfy the captious, and convince the wilful and predetermined skeptic. Enough has been said to call attention to the subject presented, and to stimulate honest minds to inquiry and reflection. To you, friends of the slave, pledged champions of the rights of man, we now submit the question, whether you will elevate your standard of principle and action to the summit level of a pure morality, or lower it to that of a worldly policy, a supple, circumstance-moulded expediency; whether your practice shall be such as will steel the slaveholder against your arguments and appeals, and worse than neutralize your influence on his mind;—or whether it shall exhibit such a preference of right to convenience, of the interests of humanity to personal comfort, as will extort his admiration, and be worthy of his imitation. To your own consciences, in the sight of the motive-reading eye, we leave the decision.

In behalf of the Committee appointed by the Requited Labor Convention, to prepare an address on the duty of abstaining from slave produce.

LEWIS C. GUNN.

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